HARD HATS AND HARD FACTS

by GUS HALL

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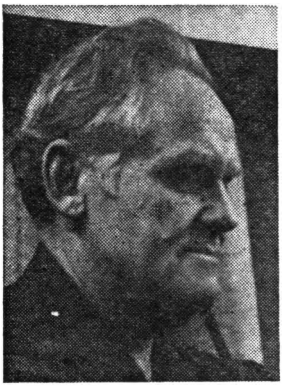
ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party, U.S.A. since 1959, was born in 1910 on the Iron Range in Minnesota and has spent his entire lifetime in the working-class and Communist movements. At the age of 15 he was doing a man's work as a lumberjack. Later he worked as a miner, as a construction worker and as a steelworker. He was a leader of the Little Steel strike in 1937 in Ohio and was one of the founders of the United Steelworkers of America. He served in the U.S. Navy in World War II. In the 1950s he served an eight-year prison term at Leavenworth, Kansas under a Smith Act frame-up and a vindictive contempt citation.



Gus Hall is the author of numerous articles and pamphlets. Among his most recent pamphlets are *On Course—The Revolutionary Process, Working-Class Approach to Women's Liberation, The Fight Against the Nixon-Agnew Road to Disaster,* and *Our Country in Crisis—The People Must Act!* The last of these contains the text of his report to an emergency meeting of the National Committee of the Communist Party, May 16-17, 1970

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HARD HATS AND HARD FACTS

By Gus Hall

Dear Fellow-Workers:

I want to address you as a former steel-worker.

I also wore a hard hat. I was a member of the Structural Iron Workers Union in Ohio. It happens that I am also one of the founders of the United Steel Workers Union. I know your life. It's no cinch.

I know the high injury rate on high-rise construction. Nobody need tell me about the tough physical requirements which end the working life of construction workers after the age of 45 or 50, if not sooner.

The hard hat is a trade-mark of the hard job. It should protect you from falling bolts, etc., but in addition it should help safeguard you against phony ideas.

I want to say a word to those of you who were in New York during early May and maybe took part in the actions and marches in Wall Street and at City Hall which were called to back up Nixon.

I am sure many of you are thinking hard about the action because involved in what you did is the question of your children's future—whether they will live or die on some remote battlefield in a war they never declared.

It may not appear so—but your bread and butter, the life of your Union, your democratic rights were directly involved in your march in support of Nixon.

A large part of the population of our country, most of the working-class, most of the youth, feel that when you

march supporting Nixon's war policies in Indo-China you are marching against your own best self-interests as workers. As sure as the sun rises this is, most totally, a rich man's war and a poor man's fight—a poor man's burden.

Let us face some hard facts. The United States flag is not the issue of this struggle. Don't be misled by this outcry. No sensible man is out to tear up the flag or spit on it. Anybody who does that, is either an agent provocateur in the ranks of the peace marchers or truly some mentally deranged or irresponsible person who wants to see workers fight workers.

When this march was organized I know many of you did not have a chance to think the question through. You are not for the war—you've got too much at stake: your kids' lives, your family's future, the nation's well-being.

Many of you took the time off simply because you got paid for it, right? After all, it is easier than working on the steel beams. And I know fresh beer on a hot day is plenty refreshing. Then others of you were locked out by your bosses for the two hours. There are cases where, when workers refused to go out, the bosses refused to pay for the time involved. That was nothing more than a lockout for war.

Let's look closer into the facts and behind them. There were men behind the scenes who secretly organized the march, for their purposes. As workers we need to find out what purposes such people have. They told you the issue was the American flag, and they knew pretty well what they wanted. They knew what the political effect of the march would be.

Some of those secret operators were big real-estate

interests who put big money into organizing these marches. Do you really think they have your interests at heart?

Do you think the blue-blood John Birch Society that is mixed up in this up to its neck is your true friend? Or the ultra-right fascists, or the racketeers, who did the real organizing behind the scenes? Tell me, do you really think they have your interests at heart? They are campaigning to destroy your unions.

You know what, fellow-worker? They are using you. They used your demonstrations to help Nixon go even farther than he has in invading Cambodia. They use your demonstrations for purposes different than you conceived them to be.

Since you marched, the Nixon Administration has backtracked from its announced plans to get out of Cambodia. Now they say they will keep up the bombing after June 30th. They now hint there will be other invasions. Now the U.S. has pushed Thailand into the mess. Next, U.S. troops will have to go in and save their fascist government. Your march is used as a support for a war that cannot end but in a disaster for the United States.

No real man wants to be another's stooge. But that's what these behind-the-scenes operators propose to do with you. Fighting words? Listen to these facts:

The big-time operators are organizing for higher profits against the interests of the country: they do so by wrapping themselves in the flag even as they are betraying their country. It was a wise man who said "Patriotism is the last refuge of the scoundrel." So they appeal to you, using your sense of patriotism, your pride in the hard hat.

They are using your hard hat symbol to mobilize a

force that in basic essence is against labor, is against democracy, and is racist to the core. They seek to divide labor, break its unity, its greatest defense, by pitting white against black and black against white. They are out to destroy everything the United States flag stands for.

Ask who bought the hard hats that were worn by marchers in business suits who never climbed the ladder on a construction job. There were plenty of them as you have learned.

As you know from your own life, often things are not as they seem. It is necessary to look beneath the surface of things. To give support of any kind to the policy of war against the people of Indo-China is not only morally wrong, it is not in the best self-interest of the people of the United States. Therefore such an act is not patriotism.

Some say the issue is a defense of democracy. They are right—but not in the way the *Daily News* presents it. The U.S. is militarily and economically supporting and keeping in power the worst fascists such as Ky and Thieu. It is the people of Vietnam who are fighting against U.S. aggression, who want to get rid of the fascist anti-labor butchers, and to establish a government of democratic self-rule. Any support of the Nixon policy of imperialist aggression is support for the fascist puppets of South Vietnam.

When you march for Nixon you are marching in support of anti-labor policies. You do not intend to give support to such policies, but the march is used to support such policies as:

—The Nixon-Shultz plans to deprive rank-and-file building craftsmen of the right to ratify the terms of new contracts.

—The President has unveiled an "emergency disputes" plan to bring the railroad unions to heel and, at the same time, end strikes in five major transportation fields with an array of new "cooling off" periods, forced back-to-work actions during bargaining, and superimposed settlements.

—The new Chief Justice has served notice he will welcome cases taking away from the National Labor Relations Board, and turning over to the states, the right to regulate picketing. The Supreme Court has just eliminated the last obstacle to a full use of anti-labor injunctions.

—The President hasn't hesitated to call out the troops, as in the mail strike, by way of warning all unions and their members that he has the muscle to curb the cry for economic justice.

—In the hopper is a mix of measures shaped last year to outlaw multiple bargaining of the kind that lately won the G.E. strike, to ban national contracts, and outlaw strikes altogether.

—The Attorney General is doing his best to stack Burger's court with southern conservatives notoriously hostile to trade union organizing action.

You do not support such policies but the march you took part in is turned into support for all of Nixon's anti-labor policies.

We are in another depression. The U.S. economy is in the beginning stages of an economic crisis. All of Nixon's policies are geared to bring on an economic crisis for the workers while helping the big corporations to continue making big profits. Unemployment has now climbed to over 5 per cent while taxes, prices and rents go UP.

You do not want to support such policies. But when

you are either silent or when you take part in pro-Nixon marches, this action by you is turned into support for Nixon's policies in all areas including his policies that propel an economic crisis for you. The slogan "U.S.A.—all the way" means *all the way for maximum profits.* It has the same meaning as "What's good for General Motors is good for the U.S.A." If the corporations are "all the way for U.S.A." why don't they give up some of their billions of dollars they make in profits? Why should YOU, as a worker, be forced to pay for the war in high taxes and prices while the rich get richer from the same war?

The issue is not the defense of the United States. The people of the United States supported the actions of the government during the Second World War because the struggle against fascism involved the independence and democratic rights of peoples including ours. I volunteered and served in the U.S. Navy. Now it is the United States that threatens the independence, the democratic rights, and lives of people the world over.

The world asked the people of Germany not to support the brutal aggressive policy of Hitler. Now the world is asking the people of the United States not to support the aggressive policies of its government.

As you can see, things are not always as they seem. The secret groups, the few labor leaders who receive the money from some big business circles to organize the actions in support of the Nixon policy, know what they are doing. They are deliberately misleading the people with their talk about the flag, about democracy, about Communism. One must look behind their curtain of demagogy.

History is a harsh taskmaster but we must learn from her.

The way these people behind the march operated is the way German and Italian fascism came to power. The overwhelming majority of the people of Germany and Italy did not consciously support fascism; but the fascists misused the grievances and sentiments of the people, especially their sense of frustrated patriotism.

But the basic lesson history teaches is that after fascism came into power, its first objective was to destroy the labor unions. Both in Italy and later in Germany and in Spain, hundreds of thousands of trade unionists died in concentration camps. Their crime? They were members, or leaders, of trade unions.

The fascists took power by also pretending to be patriots but as soon as they brawled their way to power they destroyed all the Constitutional and democratic rights of the people—freedom of organization, of assembly, of speech, of thought. One whisper of dissent and the gates to the concentration camps opened. Then the crematoria—for trade-unionists first of all. Before the world was able to put an end to the crime of all crimes, tens of millions including six million Jews were murdered.

Fascism promoted every false idea that could split the people and divide the world. They exalted the ideas of racism, the phony belief that the blond aryan was superior and other races were ordained to serve him, as slaves serve the master.

What does this war—this aggression against the people of Indo-China—mean, to America, to you, as a worker?

First let's examine the reasons for this conflict. You have been told that Communism is the issue. The reality is that it is not.

Remember that Richard Nixon said he inherited the Vietnam war from Lyndon Johnson, and Johnson said he inherited it from John Kennedy, who said he inherited it from Dwight Eisenhower.

Well, it would be good to look at what Eisenhower said about it in 1953:

"Now let us assume that we lost Indo-China," Ike said. "If Indo-China goes, several things happen right away. The Malay Peninsula, the last little bit of land hanging on down there, would be scarcely defensible. The tin and tungsten we so greatly value from that area would cease coming. . . ."

Eisenhower was even more explicit than that, for he continued to say:

"All of that position around there is very ominous to the United States, because finally if we lost all of that, how would the free world hold the rich empire of Indonesia?"

Hold the "rich empire of Indonesia." Know what that means? It means trying to take into tow the fifth most populous country in the world, Indonesia, which has a population of 100,000,000. Most people don't know that. It means to police—with our boys in uniform—so vast a place.

Ike went on: "So when the U.S. votes $400,000,000 to help that war, we are not voting a giveaway program. We are voting for the cheapest way we can to prevent the occurrence of something that would be of a most terrible significance to the U.S.A., our security, our power and ability *to get certain things we need from the riches of the Indonesia territory and from Southeast Asia.*" (My emphasis—G.H.)

Where is all the talk about "helping democracy," etc., etc.? The lowdown, fellow workers, is as Eisenhower puts it, "to get certain things we need from the riches of the Indonesia territory and from Southeast Asia".

Later in his book Ike added "prodigious supplies of rubber and rice" and Thailand and East Pakistan to the countries at stake.

Is that wholesale hijacking of tin and tungsten for you, for the people of the United States? Because hijacking it is, for the corporations pay the workers out there starvation wages of a few pennies per hour and charge fat prices for manufactured articles containing tin and tungsten.

Who is all that shooting and killing for? All those raw materials are designed to go to Union Carbide, which gets the tin of Thailand; and Standard Oil, which gets the oil of Indonesia. The war is not over but the big oil monopolies have already divided amongst themselves not only the land area of Southeast Asia, but they have also divided the continental ocean shelf amongst themselves. A division of labor: you supply the boys to kill and get killed so that the big corporations get the supply of cheap raw materials. That, in sum, is the reason for imperialist wars to which our rich-man's Government ships our troops, our sons, all over the world for every other reason except to "safeguard democracy."

Another one who let the cat out of the bag was none other than former Secretary of State Dean Rusk, under Johnson, who told a group of Congressmen what Johnson meant by "the great stakes in the balance" in Vietnam. "With its archipelagos," Rusk said, "Southeast Asia contains rich natural resources and some 200 million people. Geo-

graphically, it has great importance . . . *more is at stake than preserving the independence of the people of Southeast Asia* and preventing the vast resources of that area from being swallowed by those hostile to freedom." Need anything be plainer than that? (My emphasis—G.H.)

American corporations dream of using the Vietnamese—part of those 200,000,000—to exploit for $15 a month just as now they exploit the South Koreans and the people of Taiwan. Listen to the *New York Times* which said not long ago, "South Korean workers work long hours for little pay under harsh and sometimes dehumanizing conditions." And for whom? You guessed right, big American corporations.

Already in South Vietnam, you especially will be interested to learn that billions in construction contracts went to the RMK-BRJ syndicate. Probably some of you have worked for Raymond International, or Morrison and Knudsen. They pay their Vietnamese workers 14 cents an hour—$35 a month for a 60-hour week. They pay American foremen 43 times as much.

But first they bomb the Vietnamese peasants out of their rice paddies and herd them into concentration camps, then make them work or starve.

It's a war to get cheap labor—first them, then you.

The profits, as you might guess, are fabulous. FORTUNE magazine, organ of the biggest financial interests here, tells of the promoter, Herbert Fuller, who wants to put up a $10 million sugar mill in South Vietnam, and is waiting for troops and napalm treatment to open up the territory for him. FORTUNE says about Fuller:

"When the troops arrive to clear the area, as they sooner or later must, this American capitalist will literally be one

step behind them . . . 'I am in it for the money,' Fuller says, 'We could get back our investment in two years.'"

Now does this serve your interest? Or the national interest?

It does serve Mr. Fuller. It serves American Big Business. Jobs by the thousands are folding up in the United States—in electronics, auto, textile, apparel, machinery—as the giants of American industry move the work to the new-type colonies of the Pentagon where they can escalate their profits ten times.

That, fellow-workers, is why the war is escalated.

What I described above is what is meant by the military-industrial complex.

War is good weather for the military-industrial complex—even if it benefits nobody else. Biggest among the financial elements in that complex are the big-money men, the kings of finance capital, Chase Manhattan Bank and the Rockefeller interests. They have, believe it or not, a real day-to-day relationship with you, have an effect on what goes into your pay envelope; therefore, a mighty impact on how you and your family live.

Hardly a piece of major construction takes place in Manhattan without the financial involvement of Chase or the Rockefeller interests whose representatives are on the boards of directors of the corporations paying for the buildings you work on.

Well, the Vietnam war profits swell their bank accounts, but let's see what those profits do for you.

Last year your trade's average pay was $210 a week. Right off the bat $45 to $60 was deducted for federal, state

and New York City taxes. That left you a take-home of $150 to $165. Then another $40 was taken in what are called hidden taxes, which are included in the prices and the rents you meet, or in the real-estate taxes if you own your home. That means that only $110 to $125 out of the $210, or barely half, was actually available to you to pay for goods and services.

But let's look at the Rockefeller family for a moment. John D. Rockefeller III testified before the Ways and Means Committee in Washington, February 1969, and said: "Although I have qualified for the unlimited deduction privilege during every year since 1961, I have deliberately paid a tax of between five and ten percent of my adjusted gross income each of those years."

For construction workers—40 to 50% of their income in taxes.

For the Rockefellers, with a combined family fortune of $5 billion, each enjoying tens of millions of personal income yearly—a "voluntary" "tax" of five or ten percent, just for "appearances."

That's the kind of freedom this war is about.

Freedom from taxes for the billionaires!

What about your own industry—construction?

As sure as fate it is going to go the same road as the other runaway industries—electronics, auto, textile, etc.

Soon the corporations will stop building headquarters buildings in New York, and factories in Ohio. That's the outlook for construction workers. How is it today, how was it yesterday? You know best. The war has not profited

you like it has the big corporations. You get no share of it. On the contrary your real wage has been cut by this war.

Look at the facts. New York construction workers did not enjoy the 56% gain realized in corporate profits since the U.S. entered the war in Vietnam.

In 1965 your average weekly earnings in New York—you, the construction worker—were $171. If you had no dependents, what was left in your pay envelope was $133, after all payroll withholdings, federal, state and city. In 1957-59 dollars, the real take-home pay was really only $119.

In 1969 the average weekly earnings were $210. But again, payroll withholdings, federal, state and city, left only $150; and in 1957-59 dollars, the real take-home pay was down to $113.

That's a loss of another $6 a week.

And five of that six dollar loss took place in 1969, the first year of Nixon. For workers with three dependents, the loss over the four years was $3.50 in real take-home pay, all of it in 1969.

Let's add some other questions that have us all sweating blood:

The Labor Department said that in the Spring of 1969, just a year ago, it cost $11,236 to keep a family of four at a moderate living standard in New York, and that is plenty moderate. So even the average construction worker was just about making it. Getting by. You can't say he was enjoying the affluent society they say we're all part of.

The above figures are for an assumed year-round job. What about seasonal layoffs? What about the workers in small-scale residential construction who don't get the pay

of the big corporations who have millions of extra profits to shell out for their headquarters buildings, the high-rise stuff?

What about the continuing inflation, which has raised the cost of living for a family of four to $12,067 in the Spring of 1970?

I mentioned the high injury rate on high-rise construction, the tough physical requirements that cut down the span of years a man is able to work. Many of you know this all too well, for these are not just statistics to you. They're your life and limb.

In 1967 one out of every twenty construction workers in New York state suffered a disability injury. 12,000 workers were knocked out for an average of 80 days. Of these 1,300 were permanently disabled. And 33 were killed, according to incomplete figures.

The injury rate was much higher working for the large contractors, and for heavy construction, structural steel work, concrete work. That is, it was higher for the kinds of work and the kinds of employers you find in downtown Manhattan.

It is safer to work on a Manhattan construction project than to serve in the U.S. Army in Vietnam.

But it is still much too dangerous.

It is no danger to a man like Governor Rockefeller who knows nothing about construction, who belongs to the most influential family in New York, economically and politically. That family has consistently been all-out for the Vietnam war.

Instead of us supporting the Rockefeller war, wouldn't

it be the better part of our self-interest to insist that the Rockefellers provide safety provisions, hire more men, reduce the work-week, and end speedup on the downtown construction jobs?

How about cutting out overtime, without any reduction in weekly pay?

And—here is a big question of interest and concern to each construction worker for there is so much misconception about it—how about opening up the skilled trades to the black and Puerto Rican workers, to end the rotten racism that splits the workers in all industry, and in construction as well?

Building trades union officials have gotten many building trades workers to believe their conditions are improved by keeping the jobs for white workers and excluding black workers. In the first place, this is socially immoral, economically false and historically impractical. It is the big lie which is used to keep wages down. It is a crime against a fellow human being, and violates all ethics of humanity. A job security maintained by oppressing other workers is a modern version of gladiators fighting each other for the profit and enjoyment of the aristocratic rich. It is a losing game. In the long run there are no winners.

The only path to victory, to job security for all, is a united struggle against the present-day aristocratic rich, the corporations. The struggle must be for whatever economic changes are necessary—a six or four hour day without a cut in weekly wages, government projects—any change that will provide jobs for all at union scales. Let job security for all come from the billions the corporations make in profits. It is a violation of our own Declaration of Inde-

pendence which says "all men are created free and equal." In addition to violating the laws of humanity, it violates the laws of common sense. It won't work.

You are told you are "protecting" your job and your interest by keeping the black man from employment on construction jobs.

Let's examine that a moment. The record shows a vastly different picture. Racism hurts the white workers too. Here is a good example. Take down South. Discrimination is much worse there than in the North. Black workers are kept out of good jobs much more completely down there.

They earn 54% of what white families earn, whereas in the North, black families earn 72% of what white families earn.

If racism benefited the white workers, white workers would be better off in the South.

But look at the facts. In 1967 the average white family in the South earned $1,212 less than the average white family in the North.

That means a total loss of $15 billion for all the Southern white families—most of whom are workers, of course.

Why? Because wages are lower in the South for both, white and black workers, because the employing class pegs the wage standards to the lowest brackets.

Because wages are lower in the South for both white and black, industry is more and more moving to the South. Northern workers are losing their jobs because of this.

Even worse, racism pays Asian workers one-twentieth, or even as far down as one-fiftieth of what it pays white

American workers for the same work. Racism-colonialism is leading to the runaway job that is taking so many jobs from American factory workers.

Already residential construction in New York is practically dead, killed by the war. Sooner or later the racist runaway shop will be felt in heavy construction, office and industrial building too.

The only way to halt that is to end racism.

The building trades workers have the biggest possibility and the biggest responsibility of all labor.

If the building trades end racism, if they provide jobs for black workers and Puerto Rican workers on a basis of complete equality and proportionality at all levels—this will be a decisive breakthrough in the general conditions of the minority peoples in New York who are about one-third of the population.

The end of racist unionism, the end of swollen military budgets, will through struggle make it possible to provide decent housing to the millions of New Yorkers living in slums and ghettos.

It will make it possible, through struggle, to provide uncrowded and well-equipped schools and hospitals.

It will make possible expansion and improvement of the transit system, so badly needed.

This, plus shorter hours, will create such a demand for construction labor that it will make it difficult to find enough workers, white, black or Puerto Rican, as well as require a vast expansion of training programs, a big increase in wages and improvement in conditions, in order to

attract young people in enough numbers to the industry.

Some of you may think the students are going "too far" in their actions. First, don't blame the students for the few individual acts of violence. Secondly, their militancy is understandable. It is the youth who are being killed in this war. It is their lives that are being disrupted. The youth are not ready to accept a lifetime of barely making ends meet. They are not ready to accept a life of constant worry about layoffs, high taxes, prices and rents.

They feel life should offer more. They are probing for a more sane, just and equitable social system. They want a life without wars, a life without racism, a life without economic recessions or unemployment. They cannot understand a system where a few get rich, live like kings by exploiting the great majority. They want a more humane system. Now what is wrong with that? Such desires have always been the propellant behind human progress. The youth are not the problem. They are not the cause of the present crisis or the issue that should divide us.

Some of you are joining pro-war rallies because you are against Communists.

But Communism is not the issue in Vietnam any more than it was the issue when the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor or the Nazis attacked France in World War II.

Aggression these days always uses the pretext of anti-Communism. The issue in Vietnam is nothing more or less than U.S. military aggression.

The issue is national liberation, the unconquerable will of the Vietnamese people to be free, to be able to govern their own land, the right to be masters of their own destiny.

Their goal is no less just than the goal of our forefathers in the struggle to be free from England.

That's why this relatively small number of people in distant Asia have been able to confront the might of the richest country in the world, which has dropped more bombs on them than were dropped on all of Europe in the Second World War. During World War II they fought against the Japanese invaders. Afterward they fought against the French colonialists. They were able to deliver French imperialism its most disastrous defeat at Dienbienphu. They withstand everything the U.S. has been able to send against them, from napalm which burns everything it falls on, to fleets of helicopters carrying infantry, and weapons from submachine guns to cannon.

Most observers know that they cannot ever be defeated, know that we get deeper into the quicksand with every escalation of the war, as in Laos, as in Cambodia. We face military and political defeat of the first magnitude. Yet Nixon continues to expand the war, knowing full well the majority of the country is against him. That is why two days before he revealed to the country and to Congress that the U.S. invasion of Cambodia had begun, he told a secret meeting of the leaders of ten military-linked groups that he would soon order action "on the Cambodian side of the border." These groups included, of all people, the National Rifle Association, as well as the Reserve Officers Association, the Navy League, the Marine Corps League and the American Ordnance Association; big-time, big-money outfits.

He exhorted them to help build public sentiment behind him when the action in Cambodia would be announced. He felt he needed support from these ultra-right fancy Dans

who are no friends of yours. He needed them because he was by-passing Congress, by-passing even some members of his own Cabinet. No wonder some are wondering whether he won't bypass the nation when election time comes for President two years hence. Might he not just cancel them on the phony grounds of "national need"—just as he did in usurping war-making powers all to himself and scorning the legislative authority of Congress and the Constitution itself?

Why does Nixon do all this, risk so much? The answer lies in the ledgers of Nixon's bosses—the industrial and financial complex that is in partnership with the military.

According to Government statistics, corporation profits after taxes in the five years 1965-69, the years since we started bombing North Vietnam and sending in hundreds of thousands of troops, in those five years U.S. Big Business totalled profits of $244 billion.

Yes, that's it: $244 billion!

And that's *after* taxes. That's just *reported* profits. There is much, much more hidden in expense accounts, depreciation and other trick items.

In the five previous years, 1960-64, corporation profits after taxes totalled $157 billion. The increase during the Vietnam War was $87 billion, or 56%.

Now listen to this: they call Vietnam a "limited war." World War II cost several times more than the Vietnam war. There was plenty of profiteering then too. But corporation profits after taxes during the five years of 1941 to 1945 came to $51 billion. In other words, profits during this war, the Vietnam war, are FIVE times as much as

during World War II! That's why they will pay your time off to demonstrate for continuing the war in Vietnam. Right?

These are the reasons that impel me to address myself to you. These are the real issues of this war in Vietnam, that threatens to throw us all into the holocaust of World War III.

No, Communism is not the issue. It is military aggression in the interest of Big Business in the U.S.A. As a worker, don't let yourself be misled about Communism. As a worker, I have no interest that is different from yours. I am a Communist because I am a worker. I believe the workers and all others will be better off if the industries are publicly owned, if we, the people, own and control the natural resources of our land.

As a worker you have no interest in making profits for the rich. Socialism—which I believe in—will put an end to this madness that kills our sons (50,000 dead; over a quarter million wounded) and the sons of other peoples for the sake of Chase Manhattan Bank, the Rockefellers and all the other big interests.

As one worker to another who wears the hard hat, I ask you to consider these hard facts. I invite you to send me your views so that we can continue the discussion. My address is 23 West 26th Street, New York, N.Y. 10010.

When you look beneath the surface of things, it becomes clear. We must build the movement that will force the Nixon Administration to end the aggression and to bring the armed forces back home.

It is necessary to build a new people's alliance. An alli-

ance that will challenge the political and economic power of the military-industrial complex—an alliance that will basically shift national priorities, an alliance that will fight to end racism, an alliance that will safeguard the democratic institutions—an alliance that will fight for job security and Union scales for *all* workers. We need a new people's alliance that will place the interests of the people—the interests of working people—at the very top of the list of priorities.